

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 064904  
ORIGIN IO-04

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R 232317Z MAR 77  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO NONALIGNED MOVEMENT COLLECTIVE  
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY MUSCAT  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 064904

FOL RPT CAIRO 4662 ACTION SECSTATE DATED 18 MAR 77

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L CAIRO 4662

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFO, OAU, EG, XF  
SUBJ: ASSESSMENT OF AFRO-ARAB SUMMIT

REF CAIRO 4124 AND PREVIOUS,

SUMMARY: MOST SIGNIFICANT ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF AFRO-ARAB SUMMIT  
WERE ARAB AID, SOLIDARITY, RENEWED CALL FOR ISOLATION OF  
ISRAEL AND DOMINANCE OF MODERATES. OTHER ITEMS OF INTEREST  
WERE CHINESE PLEASURE AT SOVIET DISCOMFORT, POSSIBLE ROLE  
IN AFRICA OF SAUDI ARABIA, LACK OF SUCCESS BY LIBYA, BENIN  
AND ETHIOPIA IN ATTRACTING SUPPORT; AND NON-MENTION OF CUBAN  
PRESENCE IN AFRICA. END SUMMARY

1. ARAB MONEY; MUCH TOUTED TANZANIAN RESOLUTION, CALLING FOR  
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\$2 BILLION IN ARAB ASSISTANCE WAS KILLED BY MUTUAL ARAB-  
AFRICAN AGREEMENT DURING MINISTERIAL PHASE OF SUMMIT. ARAB  
GROUP WAS PRIVATELY INSULTED THAT IT CONTAINED NO MENTION OF  
PREVIOUS ARAB GENEROSITY AND, IN FACT, SAW IT AS CRITICISM  
OF ARAB PARSIMONY. AFRICAN GROUP, HAD BECOME AWARE OF ARAB  
SENSIBILITIES AND AGREED THAT PRESSING FOR TANZANIAN RESOLUTION  
COULD BE COUNTER PRODUCTIVE. AFRICANS WENT AWAY HAPPY

WITH \$1.5 BILLION IN ASSISTANCE ARABS FINALLY ANNOUNCED,  
ALTHOUGH THIS DELIGHT TEMPERED BY CONCERN THAT:

(A)) NO INDICATION OVER WHAT PERIOD AID WOULD BE GIVEN

(B) MODALITIES OF TRANSFERRING ASSISTANCE VAGUE AND LIKELY  
TO TAKE SOME TIME TO WORK OUT

(C) NO CASH IN HAND

(D) EVIDENCE THAT ARABS WOULD BE PARTICULAR ABOUT SPECIFIC  
WAYS ASSISTANCE CAPITAL WOULD BE USED.

2. ARABS HAD PLANNED TO ANSWER TANZANIAN PROPOSAL WITH PREFIX  
TO WORKING PAPER WHICH WOULD PROUDLY OUTLINE PAST ARAB  
AID TO THIRD WORLD OF SOME \$26 BILLION. THEY REALIZED, HOWEVER,  
THAT AFRICAN ITSELF HAD GOTTEN LESS THAN \$2 BILLION OF THE  
\$26 BILLION, THE REST GOING TO ARAB AND ISLAMIC BROTHERN, AND  
CONCLUDED THAT HARD FOR ONGOING AID FIGURE, WHICH WOULD MEET  
AT LEAST MINIMAL AFRICAN EXPECTATION, WOULD BE NECESSARY.  
IN SELLING FINAL FIGURES, SOURCES SAY, ARABS HAD SUCCESSFULLY  
(AND CLEVERLY) SOLD ARGUMENT THAT DONOR COUNTRIES WERE ALSO  
UNDERDEVELOPED, AND MUST TEND TO THEIR OWN NEEDS AND THAT  
MIDDLE EAST STRUGGLE, AS JOINING AFRICAN AND ARAB UNDERTAKING,  
HAD FIRST CALL ON FINANCES. MODALITIES, SOURCE AGREED, WERE  
INTENTIONALLY LEFT VAGUE SO AS TO LAVE ARABS (I.E., SAUDIS,  
KUWAITIS, QATARIES) WITH MAXIMUM LEVERAGE OVER HOW, AND MORE  
IMPORTANTLY TO WHOM AID WOULD BE CHANNELED. SOME REGIMES POL-  
ITICALLY MORE DESERVING THAN OTHERS AND PROVISION FOR  
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"BILATERAL FUNDS" IN SUMMIT'S FINANCIAL/ECONOMIC DECLARATION  
WAS REFLECTION OF THIS.

3. SOLIDARITY, CONF DEOMONSTRATED THAT AFRICANS AND ARABS  
ARE CAPABLE OF NEGOTIATING EN MASSE AND ARRIVING PUBLICLY  
AT COMMON APPROACHES TO GENERAL BUT NOT SPECIFIC PROBLEMS.  
ARABS AND AFRICANS, BUT PARTICULARLY EGYPTIANS, WERE SENSITIVE  
TO PRECONFERENCE SPECULATION THAT MEETING LIKELY TO COLLAPSE  
IN WELTER OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL RECRIMINATIONS. NONE  
OF THIS MATERIALIZED MUCH TO RELIEF OF HOST. AFRICANS TOOK  
LINE THAT ASSISTANCE FIGURES PER SE WERE, IN FINAL ANALYSIS,  
LESS IMPORTANT THAN PRINCIPLES OF LONG TERM COOPERATION AND  
ESTABLISHMENT OF MECHANISM FOR IMPLEMENTATION.

4. CONF WAS CAREFULLY PREPARED SO AS TO AVOID EMERGENCE OF  
DISTRACTING OR DIVISIVE BILATERAL ISSUES AND WAS CLEARLY  
SUCCESSFUL IN DOING SO. MAIN TROUBLEMAKERS WERE:

BENIN, WHICH ATTEMPTED RAISE QUESTION OF COUP ATTEMPT

(WHICH HAD ALREADY CAUSED MOROCCAN WALKOUT FROM OAU) BUT WAS DISMISSED WITH ANODYNE STATEMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS THAT SUMMIT WAS NEITHER TIME NOR PLACE;

LIBYA, FOR ATTEMPTING ATTACK SYRIAN-EGYPTIAN-SUDANESE ARRANGEMENTS CONCLUDED AT KHARTOUM;

ETHIOPIA, WHICH HAD TRIED TO INTRODUCE RESOLUTIONS CALLING FOR CONDEMNATION OF SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS AND FOR BOYCOTT OF ANY COMPANIES INVOLVED DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY IN SUPPLYING RHODESIA OR SOUTH AFRICA WITH OIL. BOTH WERE KILLED, LATTER BECAUSE ARABS SAW SUCH RESOLUTION AS BOTH IMPOSSIBLE TO ENFORCE AND AGAINST THEIR OWN INTERESTS. ETHIOPIANS WENT AWAY MAD.

5. SOUTHERN AFRICA; AFRICANS MAY HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTED WITH LACK OF SPECIAL ASSISTANCE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICAN "CONFRONTATION STATES". ARABS COULD EASILY DECLARE TOTAL SOLIDARITY FOR LIB-  
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ERATION STRUGGLE IN GENERAL WITHOUT FEELING NEED TO SUPPORT SPECIFIC POLICIES OF CONCERNED SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES. IMPLICATION WAS THAT, AS FAR AS ARAB DONORS CONCERNED, SOME OF PERSONALITIES AND REGIMES INVOLVED WERE NOT WORTHY OF ASSISTANCE AND THEREFORE NO PUBLIC POSITION ON ACROSS THE BOARD AID COULD BE TAKEN.

6. ZIONISM/RACISM: CAIRO DECLARATION CLEARLY IMPLIED CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR EQUATING ZIONISM AND RACISM, BUT AVOIDED FORMULATING IT AS DIRECTLY AND SPECIFICALLY AS IN PAST. WE ARE TOLD THAT THIS REFLECTS DIFFICULTY SOME AFRICAN STATES HAVE WITH THE CONCEPT (SENEGAL AND IVORY COAST SPECIFICALLY). SUBJECT WAS TREATED AS ONE OF POTENTIALLY DIVISIVE ISSUES BETTER HANDLED IN LOW KEY. A PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE FOR ARABS WAS CONTINUING POLITICAL/DIP ISOLATION OF ISRAEL, AND FACT THAT CONF SUPPORTED THAT OBJECTIVE WAS FAR MORE IMPORTANT FROM ARAB POINT OF VIEW.

7. CUBANS: CUBAN PRESENCE IN AFRICA APPARENTLY NOT DISCUSSED IN PLENARY DESPITE FACT SOME AFRICANS FIND THEIR PRESENCE OBNOXIOUS, AGAIN PROBABLY TO AVOID DIVISIVE ISSUES.

8. SIGNIFICANT SPILLOVER EFFECT OF CONF WAS THAT SUCCESS OF MODERATES ON BOTH SIDES PRODUCED SOVIET DISCOMFORT AS EVIDENCE IN OBVIOUS CHINESE PLEASURE. SOVIETS HERE HAVE, TO BE SURE, DONE THEIR BEST TO MINIMIZE BOTH IMPORTANCE OF CONF AND ITS RESULTS, BUT THEY SURELY MUST FEAR SPREAD OF SAUDI BRAND OF ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTIVITY IN AFRICA.

9. EGYPT: CONF WAS IMPORTANT PERSONAL VICTORY FOR SADAT AND SUBSTANTIALLY RAISES HIS PRESTIGE IN BOTH AFRICAN AND

ARAB CIRCLES. HOLDING OF MAMMOTH CONF IN WAKE OF JAN RIOTS  
DEMONSTRATED STABILITY. (EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS MAY OVERSTATE  
THIS IN THEIR RELIEF THAT IT DID NOT TURN OUT A FIASCO).  
CONF ALSO REPRESENTED AMAZING LOGISTICAL SUCCESS.

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10. BOTTOM LINE: CONF WAS A SUCCESS IN ACHIEVING ITS MAIN  
PURPOSES: PROVE THAT ARABS AND AFRICANS CAPABLE OF MAINTAINING  
BROAD SOLIDARITY, SECURE MAXIMUM CONTINUED POLITICAL SUPPORT  
FOR ARABS, AND FOCUS ARAB ATTENTION ON NEED FOR FINANCIAL  
INJECTION INTO AFRICAM IN ADDITION, SOLIDARITY OF NON-ALIGNED  
MOVEMENT MAY BE REINFORCED.

11. DEPT REPEAT AS DESIRED.  
MATTHEWS UNQUOTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PFOR, EG, XF, OAU  
**To:** NONALIGNED MOVEMENT COLLECTIVE BEIRUT MULTIPLE  
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